Absentativity in Penobscot

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I. Introduction

Reporting on the absentative (prioritive, inaccessible; Goddard 1979a,b, Pentland 2000a,b) in Penobscot, an Eastern Abenaki dialect of central Maine.

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Discussion of form and function (sects. II & III) limited here so as to better cover absentative conjunct and absentative locative analysis (IV); which leads to a tentative suggestion towards the solution of certain historical reconstruction problems for the E. Algonquian absentative and subjunctive (V)

II. Form

Absentative affixes (Penobscot)

	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
animate	-a, -əka ¹	-əkak	-əkal	-əka
inanimate	-e	-əkal		

Non-absentative affixes (Penobscot)

	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
animate	Ø	-ak, -ok, -ik	-al, -ol, -il	-a, -o, -ihi
inanimate	Ø	-al, -ol, -il		

-an outgrowth (or rather "ingrowth") of the "peripheral" endings (hence partial fusion w/ anim., num, obv.)

Absentative demonstratives

ANIMATE	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
proximal	owαka	owαkik	owekal	oweka
distal	nαka	nαkik	nekal	neka
supradistal	iyαka	iyαkik	[unattested]	[unattested] ²

INANIMATE	singular	plural
proximal	weke	wekal ³
distal	neke	nekal
supradistal	iyeke	iyekal

Non-Absentative demonstratives

ANIMATE	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
proximal	owa	iyokik	iyolil	iyohi
distal	na	nikik	nilil	nihi
supradistal ⁴	iya	iyekik	iyelil	iyehi

INANIMATE	singular	plural
proximal	iyo	iyolil
distal	ni	nilil
supradistal	iye	iyelil

Absentative concord is strikingly inconsistent

demonstrative⁵-nominal concord:

...wəsαm kətákαka kətosisənawa. (1)

wəsαm	kətak.αka	kə-tos-s-ənaw-a
because	other.ABS.AN	2-daughter-dim-1pl-ABS.AN

^{&#}x27;...because of our other little deceased daughter.' (malkohk:13)

demonstrative-nominal lack of concord:

ksipa, ni wa nəmóhsomsa, kči-ačəssahtəke, ... (2)

ksipa	ni	wa	nə-mohsoməhs-a,	kəht-ačəssahtəke
so.you.see	then	this.AN	1-[grandfather]-ABS.AN	great-[dragonfly]

^{&#}x27;So you see, at that time my dead grandfather, Old Dragon Fly, ...'

nominal-verb lack of concord (here of contextually identical referents):

məsitte nəkihkanekak, məsitte səlfəskəčakihasolətəwak. (3)

məsi=tte nəkəhkα-n.e-[w]-ək.ak all=EMP entirely-die.?_{AN}-W-ABS.ANpl

məsi=tte səkəsk-əčak-has-i-[w]-ələt.i-[w]-ak

all=EMP to.pieces-squishy.mass-[change.quickly.?_{AN}]-W-[[xpl.?_{AN}]]-W-ANpl

verb-nominal lack of concord common:

(4) na sénαpe welámahtαk, méhčina.

na	senαpe	[e]-wəl-am.ah.t.aw-t	meht-n.e-[w]-a.
that.AN	[man]	C-good-behave.caus.T.? _{AN} -ANcj	end-suffer.? _{AN} -W-ABS.AN

^{&#}x27;that man who was kind, died'

(S:72:104)

nèyo ehtahsí-sikak, pečíhlαte awíkəwαmək, wənisəwihətičil (5) mehčínekal.

ni yo	[e].htahs-sik.an-k	pet-hl.α-t-e	a-wikəwam-ək
so this.IN	C.every-spring.? _{IN} -INcj	arrive-go.? _{AN} -ANcj-ABS.IN	3-house-LOC

wə-nis-əw.i-həti.t-il meht-n.e-[w]-ək.al 3-two-W.?_{AN}-pl.ANcj-obv end-suffer.?_{AN}-W-ABS.obv

(**késihlαt** (G.D., revised version):1; my gloss)

only clear case: 6 concord btw transferee argument **wətəpe** 'h/her head (abs.)' & verb |-**ələmahke**-| 'throw away':

(6) αn ni, eli-sánikit, eləmáhkete wətəpe.

an ni	[e]-əl-sanıK.i-t	[e]-ələm-αhk.e-t-e	wə-təp-e
well then	C-inway-[blow.nose].? _{AN} -ANcj	C-away-throw.? _{AN} -ANcj-ABS.IN	3-head-ABS.IN

^{&#}x27;Well then, as he blew his nose he popped off [lit. threw away] what had been his head.' (éntkəss:6)

note: fewer chances for v-n concord attestation, b'c periph. abs. is, well, absent in conj, subord., ANpat forms

^{&#}x27;They all died, they all tore to squishy bits.' (Speck: **Κənawαs#2**; my gloss)

^{&#}x27;So every spring, when he arrived at his house, his wife was dead.'

- verbal concord seems only consistently attested on verbs with "inherently absentative" semantics?
- (7)sleep:

kawosána. a.

kaw.i-[w]-əsahan-a

sleep.?_{AN}-W-SAN-ABS.AN

'Oh! he is asleep; so he is asleep'

b. kawosánikak.

kaw.i-[w]-əsahani-ək.ak

sleep.?AN-W-SAN-ABS.ANpl

'Oh! they (2) are asleep; so they are asleep' (S:74:41)

(8)death:

> nèyo ehtahsí-sikak, pečíhlαte awíkəwαmək, wənisəwíhətičil mehčínekal.

ni yo [e].htahs-sik.an-k pet-hl.α-t-e a-wikəwam-ək so this.IN C.every-spring.?_{IN}-INcj arrive-go.?_{AN}-ANcj-ABS.IN 3-house-LOC

wə-nıs-əw.i-həti.t-il meht-n.e-[w]ək.al 3-two-W.?_{AN}-pl.ANcj-obv end-suffer.?_{AN}-W-ABS.obv

'So every spring, when he arrived at his house, his wife was dead.' (késthlat (G.D.rev. v.):1; my gloss)

(9) disappearance:

ànsatte mánəna, wanıhlawələtokak.8

αnsα=tte manəna wan-hl.α-w-ələt.i-[w]-ək.ak lost-go.?_{AN}-W-[xpl.?_{AN}]-W-ABS.ANpl truly=EMP as.if

"In fact it seems they disappeared at some previous time." (nekawαkáməssək αhotenáyike:4)

nə kčikikilahsəwal9 wətihlαn, "tαn nsisək"?" (10)wətihləkon, "tihtəkəli10 wətələmiptone."

> ni [kčikikilahso]-al wə-ihl.α-əne tαn n-sisək 3-tell.dir_{AN}-N chickadee-obv then where 1-eye

wə-ihl.ək-əne tihtəkəli wə-ələm-p.t.aw-əne-e great.horned.owl 3-away-[snatch].T.?_{AN}-N-ABS.IN 3-[tell].inv_{AN}-N

'Then he said to Chickadee, "Where is my eye?" Then (Chickadee) said to him, "Great Horned Owl took it (away)." (Speck:12 (my gloss)'

nə petakəhak epáhstəke, ahα, n'wəsαkhikətahin skowtam, n'wəpakahaton, wətələmi-(11)k̈əs[s]ihatone¹¹ toləpe wəpeskəlĭαtı.

[e]-pet-akah.an-k12 epahs-əhtək-e wə-sαkh-kətαh.i-əne ni ahα ni then C-arrive-[float].?_{IN}-INcj half-river-E ves then 3-into.view-[jump].?_{AN}-N

askowtam ni wə-pake-ha.t.aw-əne wə-ələm-kəs-ha.t.aw-əne-e toləpe wə-peskawah-αtı 3-bite-[change].T.?_{AN}-N <u>3-away-swallow-[change].T.?_{AN}-N-ABS.IN</u> turtle 3-[burst]-device trout

'When it had floated halfway across the river, yes, then a trout jumped into view, then he bit it, he (Speck:15) swallowed up Turtle's gun.'

the above forms in addition demonstrate Penobscot conflation of Cree/Fox (Pentland 2000) inaccessible vs. (strict) absentative distinction to a single paradigm (="unavailable"?)

III. Usage

- (12)Animate:
 - wəmóhsomsəkal 'h/her deceased grandfather', pl. wəmóhsomsəka a.

(cf. wəmóhsomsal 'h/her grandfather; h/her stepfather')

- nəkətəka 'my former/lost knee', 13 pl. nəkətəkokal (cf. nəkətək AN 'my knee') b.
- (13)Inanimate:
 - nsisəke 'my former/lost eye', pl. nsisəkokal (cf. nsisək IN 'my eye') a.
 - ntáwake 'my former/lost ear'; pl. ntawákokal (cf. ntàwak IN 'my ear') b.

-can be physically present, but discursively unavailable (as in presentative colloc. [dem.] +=tahk

naste wətələmi-kipihlαn wαpsk; pihtes elihlαt, wαkatahk (14)čitanáhkihaso, mehčine.

ni=aste	wət-ələm-kıp-ıhl.α-əne	wαp-ask	pihte-s	[e]-əl-ıhl.α-t
then=also	3-away-fall.over-go.? _{AN} -N	white-bear	foam-dim	C-inmanner- go.? _{AN} -ANci

wαka=tahk čitan-ahk-has.i-[w] meht-n.e-[w]

this.AN.abs=DEIC stiff-stick-sudden.change.?_{AN}-W exhausted-suffer.DOAN-W

(Speck:240:pthtes; retranscription, phrase breaks, and translation mine)

(15)mèkak wəkisi-kəmotənαtámənα, nətákitənom, na nəkəči-kisóhsi.

meke-ak	wə-kis-kəmotən.e-m.t.am-əne-əw	
Mohawk-ANpl	3-perf[steal].? _{AN} -M.T.? _{AN} -N-≠1pl	
nə-aKitən-əm	na	nəkət-kisohs-iwi.
1-[canoe]-M	?	one-month-IWI

^{&#}x27;The Mohawks stole my canoe one month ago.' (S:60:8:#21)

kènok àka níhkαp, àhtα pəmάwəsiwi, owa kčí-sαkəma, (16)αpátehtek.

kenok=aka	nihkαp	ahtα	pəm-αw.əs.i-w-[w]
but=QT	now	not	along-live.rflx.? _{AN} -NEG-W
owa	kəht-sαkəmα		[e]-αpat.e-(w)-aht.e-k
this.AN	great-leader		C-lean.? _{IN} -(W)-sit.? _{IN} -INcj

^{&#}x27;But now the great chief, The Leaner, was not alive.' (apátehtek:13)

^{&#}x27;Immediately Whitebear toppled over (away); when Foam went there, there he (Whitebear, absentative) was, stiff, he was dead.'

⁻can be dead/absent but not absentative:

Extant vs. non-extant absentatives?

-data is rather unclear (a few examples from PD ms., none in text)

nètol IN 'my watercraft, boat, canoe', pl. **nètolal**

prior. (still in existence):

nətöləwe 'my former canoe (lost, missing, sold, stolen)', pl. nətölokal

prior.: (no longer in existence):

nètole 'my former canoe', pl. nətóləkal

(17b)nətápasım AN 'my tree'

prior.: (in existence):

nətapásima, pl. nətápasiməkik¹⁴

prior.: (not in existence):

nətápasiməka¹⁵, pl. nətapasiməkak

attólhawe AN 'sleeveless body garment or wrap (made of hide), stole; shirt' (17c)

prior.: (still in existence):

nətαttólhαwa AN 'my former...', pl. nətαttolhάwekak

nətαttolhαwénokak AN 'our former...[pl.]'

wətattolhawéwaka AN 'their former...[pl.]'

prior.: (no longer in existence):

nətαttolhάweka AN 'my former...' pl. nətαttolhαwékak

nətαttolhαwenókak AN 'our former...[pl.]' wətαttolhαwewάka AN 'their former...[pl.]'

nətáhtαpi AN 'my bow' (17d)

prior.: (still in existence):

nətahtάpika[k]¹⁶ 'my former bows'

(no sg. given)

prior.: (no longer in existence):

nətáhtαpəya 'my former bow, lost bow', pl. nətahtαpíkak

(17e)nətahtάpinawak AN 'our bows'

nətahtαpínokak 'our former bows (still in existence)'

nətahtαpinókak 'our former bows (no longer in existence)'

at least one clear pattern: pl. non-extant abs. = marked penult. (s.v.) accent

(cf. default antepenult for pl. extant abs.) 1

others: special marking sg. (|-aw-|, |-ak-|) is unclear, re extant~non-extant. 18

PD notes rather explicitly absentative extant~non-extant contrast; but details remain murky.

IV. Is there an absentative conjunct? An absentative locative?

- traditional Algonquianist "subjunctive" = $conj. + |-e|^{19}$
- (18)kahsihpótoke, kətəli-námihton, kkαkάwimαn.

kαhs-hpo.t.aw-k-e kə-əl-nam.h.t.aw-əne wipe-[oscillate].T.?_{AN}-ANcj-ABS.IN 2-in...way-[see].caus.T.?_{AN}-N

kə-kαkαw-m.α-əne 2-rough-speak.with.dir_{AN}-N

'If he erases it, be sure to scold him.'

(S:60:8:17)

this |-e| is IN absentative singular |-e|; subjunctive = absentative conjunct

Penobscot subjunctive usage:

w/o initial change	protasis of conditionals and of counterfactuals ²⁰
w/initial change (=changed subjunctives)	subordinate events that are real but inaccessible

Q: What's being relativized? (cf. agt, pat; rel root [=accessible/immediate event/times])

"inaccessible" event/times A:

- = hypothetical or idealized (=conditional, counterfactual),
- = no longer *accessibly* the case (changed subjunctive use)
- = precisely the criteria for absentative marking...hence conj. + |-e|
- |-e| is IN absentative morpheme marking the inacessibility of that relativized event/time

immediate advantages:

- (a) fits with general pattern of periph. agr. on rel. cl. conjuncts---i.e. conj. participials
- (b) simplifies overall morphological lexicon: one |-e| rather than two, accounting for the semantic range of uses of various |-e|s in one fell swoop

CAVEAT: |-e| might be agr. for abstract IN event-time head, or might just be default²¹ (cf. IN/least-marked verbal agr. for clausal complements of verbs)

Absentative conjunct with initial change (changed subjunctive)

'inaccessible realis event' inferred from consistency in *pragmatic* content of ch. subjunctives ---i.e. seem to be used for realis events which are somehow distanced or inaccessible

how this derives:

- realis associated with initial change
 - = corollary to Brittain 2001: *unchanged* conj. generally used with *irrealis* contexts
- distancing/inaccessibility = effect of the absentative

Where the changed abs. conj. appears:

-collocations emphasizing the distance between two times or states:

tan nèkette ewassisəwisáne (19)

tαn	neke=tte	<u>[e]</u> -awαs-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan- <u>e</u>
how	NEKE=EMPH	C-child-dim-dim-W.? _{AN} -ANcj-SAN- <u>ABS.IN</u>

'ever since he was a child' (Siebert 1988:748)

-conjuncts referring to realis times that are discursively unavailable:

piwsássayane [e]-piw-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan-e (20)

> 'when you were very small' C-small-dim-dim-W.?_{AN}-ANcj-SAN-<u>ABS.IN</u>

b. pahpiwsássayane [e]-R-ptw-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan-e

when you were very very small' C-R-small-dim-dim-W.?_{AN}-ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN

(S:30:back page notes)

pragmatic content of these 3 examples is of an event-time, childhood, that humans typically speak of with a distancing contrast, i.e. between that long-lost state and $now^{22,23}$

-other unreachable realis relativizees: collocation with tan=eht 'how + [uncertain]' = rhetorically "inaccessible" degree, e.g.:

"inacessible" height:

kkīy[†], ni akač ni owa mkasewi-áləmoss, eska ni eliphəketəpan, (21)iyòtahk àkač iye nihkáni, pemsékihlat wàčo, tαn eht espahsekíhlαkke, tekakápite, iye awépi.

ah!	ni=aka=c then=QT=FUT	then this.AN black-[de		
	tahk=aKa=č N=DEIC=QT=FUT	tye nihkon-iwi yonder in.front-IWI	[e]-pəm-ahsek-hl.α-t C-along-ledge-go.? _{AN} -ANcj	wačo mountain
tαn=		<u>k-hlα-w-t-e</u> e-go.? _{AN} -NEG-ANcj-ABS.IN	[e]-takak-αp.i-t-e C-ending.atlook.? _{AN} -ANcj-ABS.IN	iye awep-iwi up-IWI

'Ah! Consequently while the black dog had been in pursuit, here behold, at a distance ahead a mountain would rise precipitously, so that to whatever heights its crags might extend, to yonder place above was as far as he could look.' (msáhtawe:18)

- (tan eht) espahsekihlakke 'however high its ledges might (not^{24}) go';
- tekakάpite. 'as far as he could look'²⁵

---abs. gives narrative emphasis on an fantastically unreachable height

"inaccessible" height: exaggerative emphasis on the size of mound[tain!] of meat a cannibal giant is wolfing down:

kkīy†, kámαč àka kακάwihpo, tàneht espatənéhlαkke, yol (22)kpakékəsikanal...

kkiy ah!	kamαč=aľa very=QT	kαkαw-hp.i-[w] rough-eat.? _{AN} -W
tαn=eht how=UNCT	[e]-asp-atən.e-hl.a-?w-k-e C-high-mountain.2 _{IN} -go.2 _{IN} -??NEG-INcj-ABS.IN	
yol these.INpl	kəhpak-ek-əs-k.an-al thick-sheet-cut-generic	

'Ah! He really ate with gusto, how much those thick slices formed a heap...' (Ksíľape:6)

-gemination? (phonologically similar) negation? (since would normally expect |-ənokke|)

"unreachable" extent of effort = 'no matter how...':

tαnəpeht elalohkete, nətahtαtte wəpəkahsanohtawαwəyal. (23)

tαn=pa=eht	[e]-əl-alohk.e-t-e
how=POT=UNC	C-inway-work.? _{AN} -ANcj-ABS.IN
nətahtα=tte	wə-pəkα-ahsan.i-ht.aw.α-w-[w]-al
not=EMP	3-effectively-power.? _{AN} -[caus].towards.dir _{AN} -NEG-W-obv

'No matter what he did, he never matched him in power.' (msáhtawe:23)

a rather common collocation in Penobscot narratives; again fits pattern of

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init.ch. + cj
                 (for realis event/degree) + absentative (for unreachable/infinite sense)
= the no matter of 'no matter what/how...'.
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two forms in (20) do not overtly and unambiguously demonstrate initial change, but Note:

- 2 two points support ch.subjunctive:
 - (1) glosses don't fit the conditional/counterfactual sense of unchanged conj.
 - (2) (for what it's worth) Siebert field notes independently explicitly label as "changed subjunctives"
- *limited. distribution of unambiguous initial change* + *limited corpus* = jury still out
- ---however, all available evidence is consistent with and expected from the absentative conjunct model as applied to changed subjunctives

An absentative (conjunct?) etymology for ččike 'when?'

(24)ččikeč mina kənámihol.

ččike=č	mina	kə-nam.h.əl-əp
when=FUT	again	2-see.caus.2pat-P
'When will I see you again?'		(S.D.:38)

(25)ččíke apkétehte.

ččíke when	αpk-ət.e-(w)-aht.e=w open-?.? _{IN} -(W)-sit.? _{IN} -W	
'When is it open?'		(S.D.:100)

Partial solution: if interrogative 'when?' by definition refers to a time non-immediate/non-available to the speaker, then absentative |-e| at the end of ččike makes sense, even more so if /-k-/ preceding |-e| is an old IN conjunct²⁶ form of putative *|ahči-|. 27,28

Cross-linguistic parallels: morphologically compositional 'if' in Somali and Tsou

Somali háddíi 'if'

"non-remote" vs. "remote" definite article distinction:

náag-ta 'the woman (non-remote)' nin-ka 'the man (non-remote)' (26)a. náag-<u>tíi</u> 'the woman (remote)' nín-kíi 'the man (remote)' b. (ad. from Saeed 1999:(114))

Saeed 1999:112: "If the referent of the noun is distant from the speaker, or is in the past, the remote forms kii/tii are used; the article ka/ta is unmarked spatially, and is used for referents temporally located in the present and future."

remote definite article: 'past', 'distant' semantics = nearly exactly definition of absentative

kev observation (Saeed 1999:222):

- fem. noun hád 'moment, point in time; case, instance' + (fem.) remote article -tii = head of Somali conditional clauses...i.e. háddíi = 'if...':
- (27)Haddii aad furaysaan albaabka, dirin igu duuduuba ee i tiiriya.

Had-d-ii aad fur-ay-saan albaab-ka dirin (28)

(29)

(30)

(31)

(32)

(33)

 $directive\ locative\ |-\mathbf{ake}| = plain\ locative\ |-\mathbf{ak}| + |-\mathbf{e}|$ **again**: this $|-\mathbf{e}| = IN$ absentative singular morpheme $|-\mathbf{e}|$

time-the.F-RMT open-PRG-2pl.SUB door-the.M dirin i-ku duuduub-a tiiriy-a. [make.stand.up]-2pl.IMPER 1.ACC-with... wrap-2pl.IMPR 1.ACC and 'If you [pl] open the door, wrap me up in a dirin [a kind of mat] and stand me up." (adapted from SCS: Gabadhii Caqliga Badnayd; accents omitted) -> Somali = another case of a distancing morpheme + subordinator²⁹ = 'if...' (= ci+abs in Penobscot) Tsou hoci 'if' prenominal ne 'realis' and ho 'irrealis' (Ya-yin Melody Chang, p.c. 2003) they distinguish realis 'yesterday' and irrealis 'tomorrow': a. ne hucma 'vesterday' 'tomorrow' b. ho hucma (ad. from Wang et al.:42) hucma = lit. 'a day from now [w/ temporal direction unspecified]' ho 'irrealis' seems to form part of hoci = Tsou 'if' element: <u>hoci</u> i-ko naho сита лтпла, ea-a NAF-2S like-PF what Nom please take-PF 'If you like anything, please take it' (adapted from Chang 2000:16:(45a)) 2^{nd} element in hoci = Tsou subordinating element ci (occurs post- or pre-clausally): (post-clausal = restrictive, a pre-clausal = non-restrictive) o-h-'u-cu o-h-si to pasuya **ci** tposı ait-i 'о tpos-i NAF-Rea-1S-Perf see-PF NAF-Rea-3S write-PF Obl Pasuya CI book Nom o-h-'u-cu b. ait-i 'о tpos1 ci o-h-si tpos-i to pasuya NAF-Rea-1S-Perf CI NAF-Rea-3S see-PF Nom book write-PF Obl Pasuva 'The book that was written by Pasuva was read by me.' (adp. from Chang 1998:69:(17)) *hoci* = *ho* 'irrealis' + *ci* 'relativizer' = Penobscot cj + abs, in reverse Directive locative: an absentative locative? Penobscot reflex of Proto-Algonquian locative *-enki 30 is |-ak|: məkihkanək 'at the fish hook; Magegunuck [=] Portland, Maine.' (cf. məkihkan IN 'fish hook') (PD:273) |-**ske**| = "directive locative" (PD:); prim. indicates the goal towards which a motion is directed: mənatən IN 'hillock, knoll, hill, large mound' a. b. mənatənok 'at/on the hill' **mənátənoke** 'towards the hillock, at the hill in the distance'³¹ (PD:275) c. míhkəmαkki IN 'the Micmac country' a. **míhkəmαkkik** 'in the Micmac country' b. c. mihkəmαkkike 'in the Micmac country, toward the Micmac country' (PD:278)

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Semantic arguments for dir. loc. to be abs. loc.:

- "directive" meaning fits that of the absentative: a location viewed as the goal of a direction is by definition inaccessible, absent from the present/local point of reference
- similative extension of dir. loc. also fits absentative semantics:
- kàmαč àka kínαpto, αnsα àka èlewe awéhsohseke, álαpto. (34)

kamαč=aka	kin-αp.t.aw-[w]	αnsα=aKa
very=QT	big-[track].T.? _{AN} -W	truly=QT
eləwe almost	awehsohs-ək.e bear-LOC-ABS.IN	əl-αp.t.aw-[w] inway-[track].T.? _{AN} -W

^{&#}x27;He made very large footprints, in fact he left tracks of a kind almost like a bear's.' (wèskekkehs:8)32

(35)...kámαč àka, wa áwen, kínαpto, mehč àkeht αkəməke, atótαpto.

kamαč=aľa	wa	awen someone	kin-αp.t.aw-[w]
very=QT	this.AN		big-[track].T.? _{AN} -W
mehč=aKa=eht	<u>αkəm-ək.e</u>	ABS.IN	atot-αp.t.aw-[w]
approx.=QT=UNC	snowshoe-LOC-		todegree-[track].T.? _{AN} -W

[&]quot;...this person made a big track, comparable to the size of a snowshoe, so great was the footprint made' (Ksihape:2)

- "directive" <-> "similative": approaching, nearing... (in English similative sense)
 - ...i.e. literal **spatial** motion sense reread/recast as **stative dislocation**
 - =the gulf between the referent's actual characteristics, and those of whatever it is likened to:
- (36)With a look approaching absolute disgust, she left.
- similative |-ak-e| thus derives from abs. not only via directive sense, but also via relationship with 'if': -cf. English similatives in as if..., and similar patterns in Penobscot:
- (37)...ànsa mànəna matkamikihpóteke

αnsα	manəna	mαt-ahkamik-hpot.e-k-e
truly	as.if	move-[land]-[oscillate].? _{IN} -INcj-ABS.IN

[&]quot;...in fact it seemed as if the earth trembled." (kəloskαpe nαkα toləpe#1:10)

- similative manona 'as if, like' matched w/ 'if'-clause = mαtkamikihpóteke 'if there is earth-trembling'³³
- assuming absentative~'if' semantic relationship, then absentativity underlies both the morphology and the semantics of the directive locative, hence absentative locative.³⁴

Summary

- subjunctive's and directive locative's |-e|s identified with the IN abs. sg. ending |-e|
- justified on internal semantic grounds, from the semantics of extensions therefrom, and from the semantics of the collocations they enter into
- absentative conjunct analysis for 'if'-clauses (conditional, counterfactual) has direct parallels in other unrelated languages (Somali, Tsou); abs. loc. analysis of dir. loc. has parallels in English

V. The beginnings of a solution for an old PA to PEA problem?

"Less easily explained is the continuation of PA *-e marking the subjunctive mode as PEA *- \bar{e} (> Unami -e, Eastern Abenaki -e), or the source of the absentative singular endings PEA *- \bar{a} (anim.) and *- \bar{e} (inan.): Unami $l\acute{e}$ nuwa 'man (absent or dead)', mpíye 'water (that is all gone)'." (Goddard 1979:99)

- ...the absentative conjunct analysis hints at a link between PA *-e subjunctive and PEA *-e 'ABS.IN'
- but exactly what link?

ABBREVIATIONS

[]	(in morpheme glosses) indicates incompletely	narsed mornhe	eme
1, 2, 3, AN, IN	1st 2nd 3rd person, animate, inanimate agreement marker		
1pl	1 st person plural (exclusive, unless otherwise specified via "in" or "ex")		
≠1pl	non-1 st person plural (i.e. 2 nd or 3 rd person plural)		
dir	direct patient marker: transitive action flowing outward wrt locality		
inv	inverse patient marker: transitive action flowing inward wrt locality		
P	local referent marker -ap	W	non-local referent marker -[w] ; "initial-izer" -(ə)w
N	-ane morpheme (multi-functional)	C	initial change (of changed conjunct)
R	reduplication	M	possessive marker -am ; ??transitive -m (cf. L for similar -l)
T	-t detransitivizer/nominalizer	?	unglossed morpheme; especially abstract final
IWI	the suffix - I[wi] , a sort of adverbializer	ABS	absentative
obv	obviative	cj	conjunct
unspec	unspecified referent	pat	patient
perf	perfective aspect	caus	causative
xpl	extended-plural (forms AI stems)	POT	potential enclitic
FUT	future enclitic	QT	quotative enclitic
FOC	focus enclitic	EMP	emphatic (intensifying) enclitic
UNC	uncertainty marker (enclitic)	DEIC	deictic enclitic (used primarily in presentatives)
SAN, PAN	apparent evidentials -əsahan and -əpan that seem to indicate something like a		
	dubitative and non-dubitative preterite/anterior respectively; exact usage remains unclear		
NAF	non-agent focus (Tsou)	PF	patient focus (Tsou)
Nom	nominative (Tsou)	Obl	oblique (Tsou)
Rea	realis (Tsou)	S	singular (Tsou)
F	feminine (Somali)	M	masculine (Somali)
RMT	remote (Somali)	SUB	subordinate clause agreement marker (Somali)
ACC	accusative (Somali)	PRG	progressive (Somali)

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(a) nèvo ehtahsí-sikak, pečihlαte áhtαmα, wənisəwihətitəkal-mehčinekal

ni yo [e].htahs-sik.an-k pet-hl.α-t-e ahtama $arrive\hbox{-}go.?_{AN}\hbox{-}ANcj\hbox{-}ABS.IN$ not[existential?] so this.IN C.every-spring.?_{IN}-INcj

wə-nis-əw.i-həti.t-<u>əkal</u> meht-n.e-[w]-ak.al

¹ See section III for discussion of this variant.

² The attestational gap in this corner of the paradigm is more likely due to a data gap then a genuine paradigmatic one. The overall system suggests *iyekal and *iyeka respectively as reasonable reconstructions.

³ Following the pattern of other demonstratives, these two forms should also have variants as *oweke and *owekal respectively, but this is not clearly

⁴ It is interesting to note that the Penobscot supradistals appear to be made from the same morphological material as is Pentland 2000a,b reports for the the Cree and Fox strict absentatives: namely, an |iy-| element. Given that this is one rather common vocalic syllable, this is not exactly an ironclad etymology for the Penobscot forms; but I would at least observe that of the three distality ranges (proximal, distal, and supradistal), the supradistal is the one most similar to the absentative, being closest to its "inaccessible" or "distant" sense.

I have yet to locate examples of absentative concord with numerals or participle conjuncts, which would be expected.

⁶ Below is the only other potential example of full concord that I have been able to locate:

3-two-W.?_{AN}-pl.ANcj-<u>ABS.obv</u>

end-suffer.?_{AN}-W-ABS.obv

'Then here every spring, when he arrived, his spouse (obv. abs. sg) was not [in existence]---she was dead.'

(késthlat (G.D.: first version, not later one; from S:30):1)

This appears just to be a case of continued reference, since the transcription explicitly notes the pause between the two last words.

- There is a note that these forms listed under a column labelled "surprise," presumably because of the glosses, which suggest that the interaction of the absentative with the as-yet unclear evidential function of the |-sahant| morpheme derives a mirative reading. These may have been the forms Siebert was referring to when he recounted to me an anecdote in which he witnessed a Penobscot speaker using the absentative ("priorative," in his preferred terms) in reference to a baby asleep in the other room; this is not quite clear. [[RF]still need to work on PAN forms in S:72:41 and S:72:49]
- The gloss for the Penobscot Dictionary ms. entry althlowsletokak 'they went at a previous time' (PD:50) may come from this textual example.
- Ompare this transcription, by Speck, with the phonetically similar kecekikilahso recorded by Siebert. This may be interspeaker variation, or just inter-recorder variation.
- ¹⁰ Speck's original form seems to reflect **ti(h)ktəkəli**, which could well be this speaker's use, since the form is onomatopoeic.
- 11 The transcription here suggests geminate /ss/, but most other attestations of this form, as well as cognates from related languages, suggest plain /s/.

 12 Hard to say if this is from |-ak-ah-an| or |-ak-ah-am|.
- 13 Note here that |a| 'abs. sg' does not labialize under the influence of preceding /k/, unlike |a| 'obv. pl.'. Contrast this form with wəkətəko 'AN's knees (obv. pl)'. This lack of labialization fits with Goddard 1979's model of the AN absentative's history: only PA *Cwa(C) ever went to *Co(C), and
- never *Cwaa(C).

 14 This form is unexpected and perhaps is an error for <notápastmokak>. Even then the resulting form has an extremely unusual accent, since
- */nətapásıməkak/ would be predicted by the typical pattern of stressing antepenultimate strong vowel (cf. LeSourd 2000). An similiarly accentually unusual case among these forms is the extant abs. plural in (17a), but this might be a genuine feature of absentative inflection.
- ¹⁵ See the note after next for possible reinterpretation of this transcription.
- 16 The actual listed form is <nətahtópıkan>, which is almost certainly a typographical error for <nətahtópıkak>.
- ¹⁷ There is one case of the plural non-extant accentual pattern extending to the singular: an example of an "intensive possessive" form using possessive marker |-am| used with the same stem as in (17c):
- prior. (still in existence): (b) a

nətαttolhάwema AN 'my own former...', pl. nətαttolhάweməkak

h prior. (no longer in existence):

nətαttolhαwéməka AN 'my own former...', pl. nətαttolhαwéməkak

I have unearthed nothing comparable to the underlined form, though the aforementioned unusual accent of non-extant <netápastmeka> (see RFb) might be a transcription of a secondary accent where the main accent is on the penult, i.e. of /nətàpasíməka/. This would fit the above association of penultimate accentuation for non-extant absentatives. But then we would expect *nəttolhowéka rather than attested nəttolhoweka for the non-extant form without intensive possessive---unless the presence of the intensive possessive morpheme is somehow a relevant factor.

- A further twist, and, frustratingly, apparently a hapax legomena: |-aka| for an unsuffixed singular absenative: nôtosa 'my deceased daughter' vs. nətôsəka 'my deceased daughter [which is rhetorical or archaistic]' (PD:7, italics mine).
- This, by normal sound change is almost certainly the source of the abstract V discussed for cognate Passamaquoddy-Maliseeet forms in LeSourd 1993. Unfortunately, due to the peripheral nature of the morpheme, such an analysis cannot be verified synchronically in that language, as LeSourd rightly laments.
- ²⁰ The occasional use of Penobscot subjunctives with the gloss 'when...' with regard to future/irrealis events parallels languages such as Indonesian, which distinguish realis waktu... 'when...' and irrealis kalau 'when (future)...; if...' rather consistently. This once again fits into the tight relationship (leading to conflation, much possibly just on my part!) between irrealis and absentative: a conceptualization of irrealis events as inaccessible, and therefore subject to absentative marking in morphology.
- Nor would I go so far as to claim that this is evidence for an Event argument (Kratzer 1996, etc.), though it might be read as so.
- While realis vs. irrealis is relevant to the choice of absentative or plain conjuncts, the relationship is not one-to-one. Irrealis event-times such as conditionals and counterfactuals do require absentative marking, but so do realis-but-unavailable ones such as those denoted by the changed subjunctive. I suspect that the primary problem here is an inadequacy in analytical and terminological distinctions: *irrealis~realis* is too broad and too simple.

 The related distancing effect produced by anterior morpheme |-sahan| here has parallels in many languages (cf. Iatridou (missing ref?); a similar
- temporal *and* spatial distancing morpheme is Burmese *khé*.

 ²⁴ The motivation for the negative is unclear, but reminiscent of some Romance and dialectal English irrealis/subjunctive constructions that require a seemingly "illogical" negative. More confusing is why both negative and positive forms appear in these sorts of constructions in Penobscot.

 25 In the following example, the gloss is somewhat unclear, but assuming that how he would become in size is meant as an embedded exclamative, then again we have a case of changed absentative conjunct used to convey discursively "unreachable" degree.
- malam eht, tan eləkilokke, ássahk alik nikk, kisi-pəmawəsəwinəwihpolətosánik. (c)

mαlam=eht αssahk=aka tαn [e]-əl-ək.il-w-t-e at.length=UNC C-in...way-of.size.?_{AN}-NEG-ANcj-ABS.IN ??evidentlv=OT nikik [e]-kis-[pəmawəsəwinəw]-hp.i-[w]-ələt.i-[w]-sahan-ik those.AN C-[person]-eat.?_{AN}-W-[xpl.?_{AN}]-W-SAN-ANpl

'At length presumably, how he would become in size[;] evidently these ones had partaken of human flesh.' (Ksilfape:7)

²⁶ Or perhaps locative; see next subsection.

²⁷ Such an analysis might further explain why **ččíke** alone of the interrogatives does not have an indefinite use...though exactly how I am not sure.

²⁸ This is also a plausible analysis for Passamaquoddy-Maliseet **tayəwèk** 'when?' as well: it terminates in conjunct/locative-hinting /-k/, and has a final low accent explainable as a missing historical |*-e|, or just as the synchronic IN absentative, which takes its primary form (i.e. excluding issues of stemfinal vowel deletion and recovery/reshaping) as a low accent on the final syllable of the (untruncated) stem. Once again, however, there is no way to be sure, since the deleted vowel cannot be recovered synchronically.

29 Here there seems to be an overt relativized head for the complementizer, i.e. this hád; comparable overt heads are found for other types of Somali

complementizers; see Saeed 1999:224 for details.

Tantalizingly similar to the conjunct of an IN verbal final in *-en...and at least from this diachronic perspective, one could argue this (as the source of

the locative) as a sort of quick and dirty conjunct of an IN existential.

Note in particular the phrase 'in the distance' involved in the gloss, reflecting the "distancing" sense of the absentative.

³² In his final version of this text, Siebert sees this similative usage of the "directive locative" as unusual enough to warrant a footnote. He glosses the form awéhsohsəke as 'at the bear's place; as a bear, like a bear's ---, like that of a bear', and notes that it is an example of "a special use of the directive locative which is found in several other Algonquian languages."

(d) ...wətepáhkalan pótepal, akitənok, tàhəlawəpa ipi, skowtaməwisáne

wə-tep-αhk.e-l.α-əne potepe-al akitən-ək [canoe]-LOC 3-into.vehicle-throw.DO_{AN}-L.dir_{AN}-N [whale]-obv

tahəlaw=əpa like=POT **askowtam-əw.i-t-əsahan-e**. [trout]-W.?_{AN}-ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN ip-iwi only-IWI

³³ A comparable example of similative element matching absentative conjunct is the following:

^{&#}x27;...[he] tossed the whale into the canoe as though he were a trout' (k. $n\ddot{\alpha}k\alpha$ $t\ddot{o}l$ pe#1:6)

Here the similative **tāhəlaw** 'like ' is matched by an absentative conjunct **skowtaməwisáne** 'if AN were a trout'.

³⁴ A plain locative may be factually inaccessible, but not discursively so. Just as Penobscot can talk about literally dead individuals without explicitly marking them as unavailable, so too non-immediate places can have the same treatment, and thereby take only the plain locative. What is key is that when the notion of is discursively relevant---precisely when direction rather than immediate location is involved---then the inherent sense of nonimmediacy forces that forces the presence of an absentative.